2: Stirling--51
116, 721, 866

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The art of warfare is drilled into young boys from earliest childhood. When about the age of 6 a son is instructed by his father every morning at dawn concerning the necessity of being a warrior. He endeavors to implant in the son's mind the idea of revenge by reciting the feuds in which his particular family is involved. For example, he says:

> So-and-so killed your uncle; some one else killed your grandfather; we must have our revenge, otherwise bad luck will fall upon us. Our crops will be poor and we will not have success in the hunt.

This is repeated every morning regularly for more than 5 years, until the parent sees that the son has been thoroughly inoculated with the warlike spirit and the idea of blood revenge.

When a man goes to war he usually takes with him his sons of more than 7 years of age. These small boys do not take an active part in the actual combat, due principally to their lack of strength, but they often enter the fight and here accustom themselves to the methods of warfare. Most particularly they learn to defend themselves and learn not to be afraid. They also harden themselves in this manner to the bloody realism of the actual killings. The first time a young boy goes to a fight a special feast is held in his honor in which chicken blood is put on his legs."

2: Stirling--51 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 727, 866

"The first time a boy or young man kills an enemy in actual combat he is ordered by the others to cut off the head of his victim. During this process some experienced warrior stays by his side to instruct him in the proper technique. This adviser also stays by him later to instruct him in the preparation of the tsantsa. After this has been done and the boy has gone through the subsequent ceremony on the return of the successful raiding party he is considered a full-fledged warrior and now enough confidence is placed in him that he may be sent out to act as a spy."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

told, in addition, that they must wash their hands before preparing beer or else the product will not be satisfactory. It is believed that if children are not taught to bathe at an early age, they will be afraid of cold water and their parents will find it necessary to drag them to the stream. Getting the child used to bathing is also seen as connected with teaching it, in the process, to swim well, a skill which is considered essential to survival because of the frequent necessity of crossing streams and rivers which are often dangerously swollen and rapid.

Children tend to be discouraged from playing, since it is felt that such behavior leads to a disinclination to work. Jesting or joking by children is similarly frowned upon, because it is believed to lead to lying in adult life. Nonetheless, children do often try to play until halted by their parents, who are likely to stop them more rapidly if children of both sexes are playing together. If a particular older child, who is visiting, has a reputation for playing and jesting, parents may tell their own offspring not to play with the visitor.

At this point, it seems appropriate to point out that one of the more significant features of Jívaro socialization may be the relative isolation of children from peers outside their own polygynous nuclear family, due to the extreme dispersion of households in the forest. This isolation seems likely to be conducive to a sense of alienation from the rest of the tribe, particularly when coupled with the traditional early morning lectures which fathers give to "make them be careful" in dealing with others beyond the household and which emphasize the deceitful and treacherous characteristics of other tribesmen. Adding to the child's sense of insecurity vis-à-vis the rest of the population is the frequent attribution of illness within the household to the bewitching activities of hostile shamans. Finally, the dispersion of the population in